[illegible]

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

585 574 [431] [272] ing toasts from all the guests. The bride returns to her room, where she often receives guests who wish to meet her. She serves them "bride's tea," for which the guests give her a small red packet of "bride's money." (This is considered to be her own to do with as she pleases.) The bride's tea is sweetened, and the sugar in it represents everyone's wish for her: "Sweet, sweet, have a baby boy."

585 Since there is no religious or civil ceremony to mark the occasion, it is difficult to say exactly when the couple is considered to be definitively married. Villagers themselves disagree on the point. Some feel that the couple is married once the engagement and marriage arrangements have been made. Others say that the marriage occurs when the couple is presented at the marriage festival. Still others feel that there is no marriage until it has been consummated, and some even say that the couple is not formally married until the union is registered at the Public Office. While no single answer was agreed upon, several villagers pointed out that the marriage begins once the engagement is agreed upon, "since at this time the two families are tied together as *ch'in ch'i*, and this, after all, is one of the most important factors in any marriage."

585 581 [581] [612] Taiwanese marriage has a broader social function than marriage in contemporary Western culture. It establishes *ch'in ch'i* relationships between families, it brings a new member into a boy's family, and it joins two people who then produce children. A Chinese marriage, then, does not take place as a result of a single religious or civil ceremony. Instead, a series of events, beginning with the engagement agreement and culminating in the sexual union and production of children, mark the establishment of the married state.

585 [585] [799] On the day after the bride arrives at her husband's village, a good-luck lady introduces her to relatives and neighbors and tells her how each person should be addressed. Some people call on the family to be introduced to the bride. The girl is also taken to the other side of the village to meet any *ch'in tsu* who may live there. Later on this second day, the couple returns to the girl's natal home to attend a banquet very similar to the one held at the husband's home the day before. When she returns to her family on this occasion she is frequently all smiles, in sharp contrast to her tearful departure. The cheerful aspect, like the previous day's public woe, is probably conventional, a demonstration that she is happy in her good fortune at having made such an excellent match. But it is perhaps also due to the fact that she has been to her new home, gone through her first night of marriage, and now feels that the worst is over.

[484] [484] [493] The couple either travel together, in a taxi, to the girl's village or separately, the bride in a sedan chair, the groom by bicycle. Usually, several of the groom's male friends and relatives accompany him.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

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Actually, few people go to the trouble and expense of reburial. Those who take this unusual step do so only because they believe that their misfortune is attributable to one or both of two causes: the initial burial was made in an unlucky spot, so that the spirit of the earth was disturbed and is therefore troubling the family, or the spirit of the dead person is unhappy in that spot.

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The rituals connected with death are numerous and complicated, and most of the survivors, not understanding why they are supposed to do many of the things required during the funeral ceremony, simply follow directions given by the old people and the *tao shih*. In most instances the old people themselves disagree about the meaning of the various parts of the rituals. However, whether or not they understand the reasons or purposes of the rituals, the village families follow directions "because it is filial to do these things, and it is also good for the ancestors and for ourselves."

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

families do not express their antagonism openly, for this would be a serious breach of etiquette. Interestingly enough, neither of the two families which personally possess these private gods is a member of any *tsu* organization in the village. It appears that the possession of these gods by the two families is a means that each family has used to establish a place for itself in the village. The family in possession of Er Shih Kung, the god which has become popular in the village seems to have actually achieved this goal.

Other Supernatural Beings, Forces, and Beliefs

In addition to gods and ancestors the villagers believe in evil supernatural beings. They are known as demons or *kuei*, but, out of fear of their malevolence and respect for their power, the villagers more often speak of them as gods or *shen*. The already mentioned Good Brothers belong to this group of *kuei*. "When one hits such a bad thing," one's spirit becomes possessed or is taken away by the supernatural being, and sickness, ill-fortune, or even death may result. It then becomes necessary to secure the services of a shaman or diviner to determine the cause of the trouble and appease the spirit.

Fate and Divination

Beyond and stronger than the influence of gods and spirits is an all-pervasive force, fate. It affects and predetermines the over-all direction of life and events. The fate of an individual is determined by his eight birth characters and "the set of forces of Yin-Yang and the Five Elements, which were connected with the movement of the stars in directing the mystical operation of time, which, in turn, determined the nature of personal events" (Yang, 1961:135). The Hsin Hsing villagers' belief in the concept of fate was well described by Kulp (1925:171) for Phenix Village when he wrote,

> Fate decides all things. Fate determined the time of birth and it will determine the hour of death, the manner of death and the experiences between birth and death. It is useless to strive against fate. All one can do is to learn the will of fate and conform in the best possible way. One may try to outwit fate but sooner or later one is doomed to defeat. Such are the attitudes that people hold regarding the great events and experiences of life.

This belief leads to various forms of divination that are designed to determine what the individual has in store for him and what, if anything, can be done about it. Thus, if resort to ancestors, gods, magic, or medicines fails to produce results, the difficulty is accepted as predetermined by fate. The concept is especially valuable in preventing a weakening of the general belief structure, for if all attempts at manipulation through supernatural influence should fail, the concept of fate

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

offers an acceptable explanation of the failure within the framework of the system.

THE ANCESTRAL-WORSHIP ROOM OR *KUNG T'ING*

The village family or *tsu* perform most religious and magical activities in the *kung t'ing* where the statues of the gods and the ancestral tablets are housed. This is a central room in every village house (see house diagram in Chapter 2), whether it is a large *tsu* house with many apartments belonging to component families or the small house of a nuclear family. Some households which reside in the apartments of a large *tsu* house reserve a small part of one of their own rooms as a kind of *kung t'ing* where they maintain ancestral tablets bearing the names of their own deceased parents or their own most recent ancestors. However, these households continue to share in the maintenance of the main *kung t'ing* of the *tsu* where a tablet recording all the names of the *tsu* ancestors is housed.

The *kung t'ing* of a Hsin Hsing village house is fairly representative of those found in the homes of the area and the homes of urban Taiwanese. (Today, usually it is only the mainlanders in Taiwan who do not have such a *kung t'ing* set up in their homes.) The appointments of the room include an altar which stands against the wall opposite the main entrance. Above the altar may hang two calligraphy scrolls which flank a scroll depicting the Buddhist goddess Kuan Yin. Statues of the main Taoist gods, a few in glass boxes, and the ancestral tablets stand on top of the altar. Incense receptacles and wine cups are placed before the statues of the gods. In front of the altar stands a large table on which food offerings are placed during worship. On ritual occasions this table is moved away from the altar and used as a dining table. The last appointment is an incense pot which hangs from the ceiling a few feet from the entrance to the *kung t'ing*, wherein the spirit of T'ien Kung, the highest god, is said to reside. He is not represented in statue form.

In many respects the care and function of the *kung t'ing* indicate the nature of village religion and its relation to other aspects of village life. Although this room is the most important single site for the performance of ritual activities, it is by no means limited to "sacred" events. The family entertains guests here on both religious and non-religious occasions, and it also serves as a meeting place for the family to sit and talk. Because it contains an electric light bulb, children play or do their homework here, and women gather here to work on fiber hats. Perhaps the most "profane" of the uses to which this room is put, particularly if the *kung t'ing* belongs to only one or a few households, is its use as a storage place for sacks of rice or fertilizer and mounds of sweet potatoes.

1:Gallin E-4,5 (1957-1958) 1966
AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5

demon, who can be bought off with bribes of food and money, to make him release the victim's spirit and then leave.

If neither the supernatural efforts of the *t'iao t'ung* and the *fa shih* nor the medical efforts of a doctor produce a cure, the family may conclude that the supernatural causes of the illness require more than medical or magical means. Recognizing the inadequacy of man and shaman in the situation, they are forced to decide that it is necessary to appeal to the gods for help. The family then asks the entire village to sacrifice to the gods in the hope that they may intervene in behalf of the sick person. If even this effort fails and the patient dies, the villagers then conclude that the person was "fated to die at this time." While one informant noted that "Fate is a person's explanation of what has already happened," most villagers feel that "a person is fated to die at a certain time and the gods can do little to control or change that fate. If the person becomes ill when he is due to die, it is no use to call a *t'iao t'ung*. That person's life is already full and so there is nothing that can be done to make his life longer. If the gods could save those who are fated to die, then later there would be so many people that people would eat people."

A Case in Point

During my stay in Hsin Hsing village, I witnessed a case in which a family used Western- and Chinese-style doctors, several *t'iao t'ung* and *fa shih*, and eventually a joint village *pai-pai* to the gods in order to cure a sick member of the family. The family's twenty-year-old daughter had displayed signs of insanity over a period of several years. When she was disturbed she was subject to attacks of extreme depression accompanied by brief, but sudden, outbursts of intense crying, screaming, and cursing. When anyone, including her parents, attempted to quiet her, she would strike out at them wildly. For weeks at a time, the girl could scarcely perform her ordinary duties. Then her aberration would pass and for several months or nearly a year the girl would behave normally until she was taken with another attack.

The first of these attacks took place while the girl was living in Taipei, where she kept house for her father who worked there. The girl's mother and other siblings were living in the village, working the family's small piece of land. When the girl first became disturbed, a Western-style and then a Chinese-style doctor were called in to treat her.[3] When they were unable to help, a master *fa shih* was called in and, according to the villagers, cured the girl completely. However, the *fa shih* became angry when he was not given enough money as a reward for his aid. The family and villagers feel that as a result he put a curse on the girl and that since that time she has suffered these intermittent attacks.[4]

*597 *562 *121 their female children. A first born daughter in a childless family was of value because she might be needed to substitute for a male, but when there were male children a daughter's value in her natal home was very much qualified. We therefore find that while very few later born males were given away in adoption, the great majority of later born female children were given away in adoption. Of 79 later born male children only 7 (9 percent) were given away, as compared with 41 (70 percent) of 59 later born female children. The only important exceptions were those female children born into families with male children but no female children. Although such girls were not valued for their potential of bringing a son-in-law into the family, they were often needed to help with household chores and child care with the result that they were not given in adoption as frequently as other later born females.

When asked why they gave female children in adoption villagers will occasionnally mention what seems to be impractical and sometimes personal considerations. One woman told us that she gave away one of her girls "because she was such a difficult child," and another woman said that she had given away two of her daughters "because everyone was teasing [me] for running a girl's club." There were also several villagers who told us that they had given away a female child because the girl "was sick all the time and must have had a sīm-pûa mī:" it being a common belief that a child with an "adopted daughter fate" will become ill if her fortune is not recognized. But while these and other such reasons are mentioned, one is much more impressed by the pragmatic way in which

*597 *562 178 recent years the rate of female adoption has dropped considerably, but it still remains much higher than the rate of male adoption. Among 144 boys born after 1930 and raised in Hsiachichou we find only 4 (3 percent) were adopted sons, while by comparison we find that of 160 village girls born during the same period of time 38 (24 percent) were adopted daughters.

*597 When asked why they had adopted female children village informants gave a variety of explanations. One village mother told us she had adopted one of her daughters simply because she was fond of the child, and as best we can judge this probably was her primary reason for the adoption. The woman was reputed to be particularly fond of children, and as she had been the child's wet nurse she had had a chance to become attached to her. In several other instances the reasons for adoption seem to have been loneliness and a fear of isolation on the part of elderly women. One woman told us that she had adopted a girl in her old age because all of her own children had grown up "and it was so quiet and dull around the house." We were also told that two families had adopted girls "in order to change the family's fortune" after several of their own children had died, it being generally believed that the adoption of a female child will somehow insure the good health of a family's later born children. But while these and a multitude of other considerations undoubtedly play a part in decisions about female adoption, the reports of the villagers and certain regularities in the timing of their decisions indicate that most adoptions are the result of one or more of three salient considerations.

3:Wolf F-5 (1959-1961) 1968 AD5 Taiwan Hokkien AD5
Peihotien

in her father's inability to interfere. It is hard to imagine just what sort of future Gioq-ki envisioned for herself, but obviously it has fallen short of her expectations. Like many Taiwanese, Gioq-ki now attributes her misfortunes to fate, *mia*. When one of our assistants announced her intention of marrying a mainland soldier, a marriage of which we thought poorly, though on other grounds, Gioq-ki warned the girl against taking such a step. "You can see from the newspapers that all of the bad things are done by mainland soldiers." When reminded of her own marriage, Gioq-ki answered bitterly, "I was blind and that is why I chose him. My *mia* was like that and so I had nothing to say about it."

The early quarrels between Gioq-ki and her husband arose out of Gioq-ki's insolent refusal to obey anyone, her volatile temper, and her growing habit of spending long hours and not a small amount of money at the gambling tables. Although Gioq-ki was first exposed to gambling during the time her father was running a gambling house, the disease is endemic among certain Taiwanese women. Many of them learn of its hypnotic fascination when they work as wine house girls or prostitutes; others discover it during New Year's festivals when it is almost a standard part of the celebrations. All the women addicted to gambling have a restlessness, a dissatisfaction with their lot, and a pride that has been one way or another trampled on. Once "infected," women ignore their children's needs, use precious food money to buy into a game, and sell anything to continue playing, even their daughters. If their husbands are not also infected, the periodic quarrels between them echo through the village. For a few days after such a quarrel a woman may try to avoid whichever village house has a game in it, but soon she is slipping in the back door with a few dollars clutched in her hand. A gambler in a Taiwanese family can be, and often is, as disastrous as a chronic alcoholic in an American family. Gioq-ki's mother told me, "Gioq-ki often quarrels with me because I tell her not to gamble. She ought to listen to her mother, but she doesn't. Her husband knows she gambles all the time so he doesn't give her money the way he used to. This makes her mad so then she quarrels with him, too. She treats the rest of us badly, but she is a little afraid of her husband. When she quarrels with him it is not as bad as when it is with me."

I stopped by their house one morning and heard a neighbor teasing Gioq-ki about one of these quarrels. Chang Jong-kuei had

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2 chin	pork	Birth of Son
2 chin	pork*	Marriage of Member
2 chin	pork	Death of Father
1 chin	pork	Death of Mother
5 chin	pork	Death of Member

*Plus attendance fee at wedding

[771] Any member who has a son between meetings brings turtle-dough cakes to the next meeting to distribute as consumption of turtle-dough cakes helps spread good fortune. For any member of a club, those life crises events which usually cost money are supported by fellow members.

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573 Another function is religious for worship is always part of the activities of an association meeting. Most units are organized around a particular god with whom the association establishes a special relationship. The host for the next meeting keeps the statue of the association god (which the association usually purchases) between meetings and he is responsible for the required special regular worship activities dedicated to it. The statue stays on the ancestral table in his kung t'ing until after the meeting when it will be carried to the next host's home. Also, the association may participate as a unit sponsoring part of the activities on special religious holidays or may act to refurbish the temple. One big "Fire Purification Ceremony"[1] was originated and sponsored by three cooperating sworn brothers associations.

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626 The unit also functions in social control. At times it has disciplined transgressors; association members mildly threaten young men who have been too

793 [764] Taoist priests) from Pouti officiate at almost all village funerals.

791 There are various other kinds of magicians, diviners, fortune tellers, etc., who are occasionally used by Sanlei 787 villagers. Coins, grains of rice, palm reading, and a pile of sticks are all used for predictions and explanations. The eight characters of birth (hour, day, month, year) are important both in predicting the future and determining [777] suitability of marriage partners. Astrology is well developed and the calendric cycle of good and bad days is everywhere evident.

796 Two part-time hung tou (red-headed Taoist priests) 793 from Hsin Tien participate at many big ceremonies in the 796 village and li. Finally, one particular part-time shaman, 791 a fa shih and his assistant from over the mountain were 465 frequently hired for certain ceremonies. Perhaps the term hired is too strong for no fee was ever discussed when an invitation was extended but the fa shih always received a sizable gift for officiating, the equivalent of a week's pay for an experienced farm laborer, plus elaborate food. 791 This man has the ability to inspire others to go into 787 trances and then he can interpret what they say if they "speak in tongues" or read the "spirit characters" a man in a trance may write in sand which is spread in a fine layer on a table.

844 the mother. The afterbirth is usually buried in or next to
[111] the river but many villagers preserve the umbilical cord for
846 good luck. Nursing will commence within one to three days,
853 as soon as lactation commences, and to aid its beginning, the breast is periodically massaged. Before the first suckle, the nipples are washed with nice porridge and green onions.

846 In Sanlei Ts'un, the mother will now have one month
[262] for recuperation, tso yueh. It starts soon after birth with rich foods such as eggs in sesame oil with wine and heavily sweetened orange peel soup and the rest of the month her food is unusually rich with great emphasis on chicken. During this month, she does few of her regular chores and is confined to the house where she can neither bathe nor use salt. Other women in the family do the work; the two most likely aides are mother-in-law and mother. Neighbors often assist as for example, the daily wash is usually done by the group with whom the new mother normally washes in Sanlei. Having a boy is considered much more exhausting than having a girl and therefore, less will be expected of the mother of a boy.

851 Three days after birth, the fact is reported to the family ancestors by an older female member of the family and the natal home of the mother will be notified, if they have not yet heard. For some girls who were adopted and later married out, both natal and adopted families will be advised. Gifts may be sent back.

796 the preparations start several days before New Year's Day and extend several days beyond encompassing many parties
[431] and celebrations. Gifts are received from employers and gifts are provided to all regular vendors with whom an in-
[574] dividual does business. There is a considerable amount of visiting with friends and relatives in the village and in the surrounding area as far as Taipei. Inscriptions are placed on the doors and New Year's evening itself is enlivened by firecrackers all night long. Virtually 100% of villagers participate in the various celebrations.

The New Year Season closes with the celebration of Shang-yuan (Lantern Festival) on the first month, fifteenth day. In addition to the elaborate food, worship, and firecrackers there is parading in the evening while carrying colorful lanterns which have candles inside. This affair
[180] is most popular with children. Villagers believe that a single girl may learn something about her future husband and whether she will get married during the current year by interpreting the first thing she hears after setting out on the
[777] parade with a lantern. Children are able to obtain good luck for an entire year by stealing vegetables growing in the fields without getting caught. Village adults rush about and loudly complain about thieves but are careful not to catch any children stealing. Most village families participate in Shang-yuan; the only exceptions are households without children.